New Party Given Lead By The Convention The Soviet year 1937 opens in leaders of the forced collectivily judges.... Now we understand the Caucasus. Seventeen, the sequel of the Trial of the Caucasus. Seventeen, the sequel of the Trial the Caucasus.

(Continued from page 2) possible the party's most effectstruggle.

party with its thought-out and merous-that our party has firm mous fighters in difficult days . . . in the labor movement.

from the standpoint of what it to our next tasks.

Party Composition to Be Improved

The accomplishment of this | equal force to the organization simple, prosaic but indispensable of the youth which, precisely task means a radical improve- because of the decline of youth ment of the composition of our proportion of proletarian eleparty. We will not succeed in ments in its composition.

rooting the party in the working | No effective work can be done class, much less to defend the in the trade unions-and conserevolutionary proletarian princi- quently no effective work in the ples of the party from being un- class struggle-unless the party dermined, unless the party is an is directly connected with these overwhelmingly proletarian party, elementary organizations of the composed in its decisive major- working class. This means that ity of workers in the factories, the party must not only demand mines and mills. We cannot blind a minimum of activity of all its ourselves to the fact that this is members, but that it demands of not the case at the present time. every worker in its ranks imme-The party must therefore steer diate adherence to his corresa deliberate course towards re- ponding trade union, and activity cruiting above all from the nside of it if he is already a memfactory proletariat, especially ber. The most correct trade union those engaged in heavy industry. policy in the world has little or party that it has a very small not in a position to apply i representation in the mining in- where it is meant to be applied.

dustry, in steel, in automobile, These elementary measures, etc. Our attention must there- which are indispensable for the fore be turned to the most pa- transition from a propaganda tient and systematic agitational group to a mass party in the activity in the industries, in the American working class and its shops, themselves. The winning of struggle, if carried out in orgaa thousand factory proletarians nized, systematic form, enable to the ranks of the party would the party to ward off the danger be a triumph which would change of being sapped by triflers and the whole complexion of the mo- dilettants, by purely literary vement and both the nature and radicalism, and to become a seeffectiveness of its work in the rious and significant factor in class struggle. What is said the great struggle and decisive about the social composition of tests that lie ahead on the road the party applies with at least to the proletarian revolution.

Feudal-Military Reaction Planning Mexican Coup To End Reform Program

By Bernard Ross

Recent reports from Mexico seem to indicate that the feudalmilitary reactionaries are preparing a coup d'etat. Their purpose is twofold: to squelch the the revolution of 1910.

The important role the latter strators in the city of Valles. may play cannot be understimat- The leaders of the C.T.M. and account of the constant betrayal

state apparatus. The National wise in the near future and one state apparatus. The National can easily foresee the consepolitical machine, far from being political machine, far from being political machine, far from being actionary leadership.

wise in the near future and one labout 1,000 native and imperialist enterprises. The bourgeois government; and non-reliance upon the Carbonary leadership.

reaction with a goodly portion of the officer caste belonging to the "Veterans of the Revolution."

Cedillo Heads Reaction

The central figure of Mexican agrarian reform movement and feudal reaction today is General recent accord with the notoriousto smash all working class orga- Saturnino Cedillo, who recently ly reactionary governor of Sonizations, taking away from the was forced to resign as minister nora, General Yocupicio. proletariat the hard-won conces- of agriculture. A bitter foe of sions wrenched from the bour- agrarian reform and the working geoisie, native and foreign, since class, he has systematically kidnapped, assassinated and driven The reactionary forces are by out of his state of San Luis us anything since the bourgeoisno means weak. They count in Potosi labor organizers and ra- democratic revolution of 1910, it their ranks a number of nation- dical peasant leaders. A few is that the national bourgeoisie al senators and deputies as well months ago his armed bands cannot carry through the agraas a group of state governors, massacred working class demon- rian revolution. The history of

ed when one realizes that the the Stalinists, bound to the Car- of the peasant masses by the majority are high ranking mili- denas administration, and not bourgeois government and the tary men who control, besides wishing to compromise the latter, continual compromise of the lattheir own state forces, important try to dissimulate the fact that ter with feudal reaction. Cardecontingents of the national army, the greatest threat of an armed nas, regardless of his personal A number of fascist organiza- rebellion comes from individuals intentions, represents the bourtions exist such as the "Middle who today are part of the go- geoisie and, therefore, cannot Class Confederation," "Nation- vernment, the National Revolu- and will not act differently than year's Buenos Aires conference, alist Youth," "Veterans of the tionary Party and the army. To did his predecessors. Under the Revolution, and a conglomera- admit that would be tantamount continued threats of the feudal far from clamoring against imtion of clerical-fascist groups to showing how the government landlords and pressure of foreign perialist domination, worked trialists the political requirecalled the "Social Democratic permits the reactionaries to imperialism, it is not at all un-Party," whose sole function con- carry on their political activities likely that Cardenas may eventsists in spewing venom on agra- unhampered. The Stalinists, in- ually "betray' the principles of rian reform measures and work- stead, sing pacans of praise to the 1910 revolution, thus following classes liberties. And to this the army and do not even call ing in the footsteps of Madero, long list we must add the most for a purge of reactionary gen- Carranza and Calles. retrogressive force in Mexican erals. The army, they say, will True it is that Cardenas has history: the Roman Catholic never revolt. But Mexican his- distributed 25,000,000 acres of tory and tradition teach us other- land among 600,000 peasants. But Besides the already mentioned wise, namely, that the military today, 27 years after the revostate governors, the reactionaries has always played a predominant lution of 1910, out of a total land are strongly intrenched within and decisive role in turbulent surface of 2,925 million acres. the national government and the Mexican politics. It will do like- 1880 millions are controlled by

The Hangman's Year Letter From China

By Victor Serge

JAN GAMARNIK

mas Eve with a horrible report:

eight more executions. Four of

those massacred were also fight-

ers from the very first days and

founders of the regime, mem-

bers of the government only the

day before. It is officially con-

firmed that Rudzutak, a mem-

ber of the Political Bureau to

this day, has been declared an

enemy of the people and is

doomed to the same fatc A

frightful year. Indeed, a year

Karakhan has been shot. I

knew it; I made it public more

than a month ago. The official

communique admits it on De-

cember 20. Karakhan: one of the

insurgents of October 1917, ple-

nipotentiary of the Soviets at

Brest-Litovsk in 1918, later am-

bassador to Peking, more re-

cently ambassador to Ankara ...

the builders of the Bolshevik

party in 1903, a fighter in the

1905 revolution, vice-president of

the Transcaucasian Council of

People's Commissars, a member

of the Central Committee of the

party.... Sheboldayev is shot.

shevik party in the Caucasus; a

for the bangman

of the Sixteen in August 1936. Shoots Boyhood Friend On the First of February several Aveli Yennkidze is shot. He too, was a founder of the Bol-Victim of Purge

ought to be and must become, of Lenin's companions and friends but primarily from the realistic are lowered into their graves, consideration of what it is at the shot in the back of their necks. tive participation in the class present time, what forces are at Among them is the leader of the its disposal, and what tasks it Ukraine victory of 1918, the We cannot ignore the fact that can reasonably accomplish in the great industrializer, Gregory the past development of the coming period. We are not yet Piatakoff; the leader of three Fourth Internationalist movement a mass party and therefore can- insurrections in Moscow, N. in this country has prepared it not assume all the responsibil- Muraloff; the party founder, Seto meet the great tasks that now ities incumbent upon such a mo- rebriakoff; the director of the face it chiefly in one sense, na- vement. It is only in certain chemical industry, Rataichak; mely, in that it has provided the localities-and they are not nu- Drobnis and Boguslavsky, fa-

proven principled foundations. At contacts with the organized labor | The year continues with the exthe same time, it must be re- movement. For the most part, ecution of eight army chiefs, cognized that the intensely po- however, the party still operates haloed with the memory of Civil litical and polemical life of the as a large propaganda organiza- War triumphs: Tukhachevsky, movement in the past, its en- tion. It is necessary to take de- Yakir, Kork, Eideman, Putna... forced isolation from the main liberate measures to pass beyond The year, or rather, the massastream of the working class mo- these confines. The main task of cre of the founders of the U.S. vement, has produced not only the party in the coming period S.R., continues with the execusectarian tendencies is not the impossible one of be- tion of the old Caucasian Bol-(Oehler, etc.), but also a ten- coming the leader of the Ameri-isheviks Mdivani, Okudjava-and dency towards an exclusively can working class; that would others in Tiflis, Lakoba in Sukinternal existence unconnected be a vain illusion, and would hum, still others in Batum. A with the living movement of the bring both disappointment and stream of blood. One thousand working class. It is imperative disorientation into our midst, two hundred and three executions that this tendency be overcome Our main task is to intrench of People's Commissars, high and that the party turn its full ourselves in the labor movement, functionaries and poor devilsenergies towards rooting itself above all in the trade unions, according to the official pressto gain important bases in the between the middle of August The S.W.P. proceeds in its labor movement, to consolidate and the middle of November. In tactics and activities not merely them, and to proceed from them November comes the finish of the diplomats: Seven ambassadors disappear all at once, representing the Soviet at Helsingfors, Tallinn, Kaunas, Berlin, Nanking, Bukarest, Warsaw.

We learn of the disappearance of the last among the leaders of he Communist International: Bela

Victim of Purge



BELA KUN

Kun, Piatnitsky, Ludwig, Ma- boyhood friend of Stalin's, once gyar, Valetsky, Felix Wolf, E- exiled to Siberia with him. Seberlein, Remmele The secret cretary of the Central Executive execution of one of the most re- Committee of the Soviets, placed markable theoreticians of Bol- at this post through Lenin's conshevism, Nikolai Bukharin, ap- fidence in him, from 1918 to 1934. pears to be confirmed. Also the Known for his firmness, his secret, entirely mysterious, ex- trustworthiness, his good nature, ecution of the former chief of the his great culture. Suddenly repolice forces, the People's Com- moved in 1934. Apropos his case, missar of the Interior, Stalin's I wrote only a year ago: trusted man, Henry Yagoda. On "The proscriptions have their December 12 takes place the logic. The whole October geneplebiscite organized according to ration must be outlawed. Whatthe new Stalinist constitution: ever its last representatives may 90 million voters vote for the be made to do, to say and to genial leader. A few days pass write, words no longer count. and the year closes on Christ- Stalin knows that these men may

it cannot and does not desire to

carry on a consistent struggle

against feudal reaction. Cardenas

tries to compromise and conci-

liate as has been shown by his

attitude towards Cedillo and his

Lessons of History

the last, 27 years has been an

tee, one of the most ruthless of hearts, they are his implacable tombs? effice three years and during | Cardenas has been pursuing the

that time has amply shown that same policy. Bound to Imperialism

Effective solution of the land problem necessitates a struggle against foreign imperialism, out the national bourgeoisie, far from opposing imperialism, is nseparably bound to it. The Cardenas government has been hailed as "anti-imperialist" and the recent confiscation of Standard Oil lands is given as an il-If Mexican history has taught lustration. But, almost simultaneously with that action, Cardenas grants large concessions to the British Royal Dutch Shell. A genuine struggle against imperpeasant and proletarian masses fits. Likewise, he wants to re- supply plants—the workers have preferring to count on its own sure, which they try to turn on to action. But that very prospect peal the surplus tax, but to do already been induced to accept General Staff and underground and off like a faucet. We can is enough to frighten Cardenas so in a way that will not make reductions through the influence armed bands to deal with the only hope that once having turnout of his wits. Likewise in the it appear an outright capitula- of this theory. international arena, the Mexican tion to Wall Street. Again, he Najera, the Mexican delegate,

the Washington delegation? industrial proletariat.

The Mexican Bolshevik-Lenin- ism serves capitalism-a lesson duct of strikes. ists, unlike the Stalinists and which large and provincialranks. The army is a hot-bed of ment of Cardenas has been in whose lands were taken over tion of workers' militias.

The Soviet year 1937 opens in leaders of the forced collectivi-judges Now we understand same time, of the Society of Old Bolsheviks. The Secretary of the Bureau of the Executive of the Soviets, devoted though he was to Stalin, might have hesitated to reject the appeal for pardon of the Sixteen. The Old Bolsheviks might have muttered against the decapitation of the old party." (Russia Twenty Years After, pp. 253-254.)

Purge Goes On

The Old Bolsheviks don't mutter any longer: they are dead. A few days after the elections of December 12 (if one can speak of elections when only official candidates are presented) several of the candidates-the official candidates-and members of the government, to boot, suddenly disappear: among them are the Mezhlauk brothers, Ivan and Valery, fighters of 1918 in the Dear Comrades: Volga region; one of them only recently the People's Commissar for Heavy Industry and Chairin Soviet aircraft, Engineer Tu- killed hundreds of thousands of planes.

Of the members of the govern-



ANDREI VYSHINSKY

ment commission which elaborated the new constitution, most prominent are gone. Thirty taken away from them? How ers. candidates - approximately disappeared in the course of their of immunity is to spare those elected-although one of the most numerous groups of the deputies of the two Soviet chambers is that of the high police functionaries (some 60)....

No regime in modern history

(Continued from page 1)

sist in giving business what it

so many exceptions and loop-

Move Against Labor

unbalanced budget.

Reveals Harsh Facts On Far Eastern War

The following letter, received from a Chinese comrade in Shanghai, throws into bold relief some vital aspects of the current war situation in the Far East. It shows how the government of Chiang Kai-shek, in alliance with the Stalinists, has brought Chint's struggle against Japan to an impasse, how living forces have been wantonly sacrificed in actions foredoomed to failure because of the Kuomintang's cowardice, incompetency and fear of the masses, how the burdens of the war have been loaded onto the backs of the toilers, while the exploiters and oppressors of the people have grown fat from graft and war profiteering. Our correspondent makes it clear that for the successful continuance of the war against Japan the Chinese masses must be aroused and organized around a program of revolutionary struggle. -Ed.

Shanghai, Dec. 13, 1937.

No Mass Enthusiasm

the oppressive war conditions.

can they pay taxes, rent and surious interest? Will not their

Therefore the peasants exclaimed: "Fighting, fighting, the country people always stand to lose. The Government will take away from us all that we possess. Before the Japanese come we shall have died of starvation." has unleashed such a reign of In consequence, they flee from destruction against its own lead- the war zones at the first oppor-A soldier in the Civil War, a some day take hold of themselves ing elite. What price will history tunity. Many of those who reagainst the misrule of the Kuo-

> not at the straw-men Tories labor. It was no accident that the head of Johns-Manville was | being. included in the first conference. Roosevelt has made clear that he is beginning a drive against wants but at the same time would wage scales in the building trades enable New Dealism to save pub- under the pretence that lower lic face. For example, business hourly wages will guarantee opposes any kind of Wages and higher annual income. Nor will Hours Bill. Roosevelt wants to the drive stop with the building get business to agree to a Wage trades. The higher annual income and Hours Bill which, by setting doctrine, incorporated in a hastminimum wages so low and max- lily constructed economic theory, imum hours so high and having will be used as part of a general onslaught against wage levels. holes, will serve the purpose of Indeed, in several plants - for New Deal demagogy without in- example, the Hormel plant in youd their control. To this the In return, the latter may try to ialism would mean rousing the terfering in the least with pro- Texas and several small auto

> In addition, as an ominous bourgeoisie expressed its loyalty wants agreement on some kind paragraph in the Annual Mes- foreign policy weighs heavily The future will in any case to its imperialist overseers. Can of formula which would recog- sage indicated, Roosevelt is pre- upon the complicated political be marked by new clashes. As it easily be forgotten how at last nize the continuing need for an paring to amend the National maneuvers among the ministers our comrade Pierre Naville has Labor Relations Act and to in- of the various People's Front pointed out in these columns, the In general, Roosevelt under- troduce a new Bill with the aim Parties. Thorez recognized this recent revelations stands far better than the indus- of increasing "union responsibil- fact openly at a rally in Paris the Cagoulards show how far harmoniously and in accord with ments of the present situation: dustrialists include, above all, that Chautemps' attempt to ward a Fascist-military coup. namely, that the masses will not the ham-stringing device of union drive the Stalinists out of the involving the high command of The Mexican bourgeoisie, va- accept quietly the open and incorporation (embodied in seve- majority was inspired by Great the army and the underground cillating and conciliatory, cannot frank adoption by the govern- ral Bills already before Con- Britain. accomplish its own bourgeois- ment of the avowed program of gress), along with other measures democratic revolution, i.e., give the National Association of Ma- designed to deaden the influence ment first under Laval, then unthe peasants the land. History nufacturers. He is trying in of the rank and file of the unions der Blum and until the last year bilization of the French workers. has turned over this task to the these confereces to show busi- and especially to hamper both under Chautemps, continued to for struggle and their orientaness men how demagogic reform- the calling and the militant con- stand by the Franco-Soviet pact, tion toward seizure of power

> practical program in face of an bourgeoisie have not yet learn- spokesman for the second con- bolstering up French capitalism, will be the decisive factor in this imminent reactionary coup d'etat: ed, but which Roosevelt has mas- ference. Roosevelt knows that the but appearing before the masses situation. In this the role and nost effective way to deceive the as an independent force. masses is with the aid of their own leaders. We may, therefore,

mintang. They become the Chinese "traitors" who work for the In my letter of last month I Japanese armies in the intellipromised to send you an infor- gence service and as paid agents. mative letter about the war si- Both the commanders and the man of the State Planning Com- tuation here. The rush of things soldiers complain bitterly of chase provisions which are availmission; the other, the director has prevented me from doing this the malicious activities of the able nearby, they have a very of the institutions of higher until now. The Loukiaochiao traitors at the front. No sooner poor intelligence service, etc. In education; and the chief of the incident (the skirmish which on has some defense work been com- a word, although they fight in air forces of the U.S.S.R., Ge- July 7, 1937 precipitated the pleted than Japanese airplanes their own territory, they have to neral Alksnis, together with fighting near Peiping -Ed.) has shower heavy bombs on it. An- fight alone as if they were in Admiral Orloff (also disappear- opened another big chapter in other example is the fact that a desolate land. The preference ed, for more than a month now) China's post-revolutionary his- the Japanese are always in pos- of the Chinese armies for posione of the signatories of Mar- tory. Ten years of Kuomintang session of facts concerning the tional warfare as against mobile shal Tukhachevsky's death sen- rule over all of China has culmi- location of field headquarters, warfare is explained by the fact tence. Alksnis is believed to have nated in turning China into an which are followed from place to that they are not on good terms been shot, as well as the pioneer inferno. War atrocities have place and bombed by Japanese with the people. Cooperation

and propaganda, the common ese 'traitors.'" Illustrating con- their own countrymen! people show fittle enthusiasm for cretely how these traitors are the war. They regard it as a ne- active at the front, the Shanghai cessary evil and groan under general continues: "In this war destruction wrought at the front, troops, all the people who could Army refused to leave their powork, the war has brought about great difficulty and were unable (Peace Preservation Corps, a speculation, high prices, more to find even one countryman of semi-military police force -Ed.)

Traitors Everywhere

"The traitors were as numerous as ants-so numerous that it was impossible to exterminate them. Each day we had to repair telephone lines more than ten times. Sometimes even operative orders were delayed. Had the masses been organized, not only would the traitors have been unable to conceal themselves. and other tasks solved (such as protection of communications, transport, guide and intelligence work,) but infinite aid could have been given to the army. By contrast with the period of the Northern Expedition (Chiang Kai-shek's 1926-27 campaign which brought most of China under the sway of the Kuomintang -Ed.), we were unable to find any civilians, peasants or city folk, who were willing to cooperate with us, so that we even had to buy salt from Shanghai, for example. But means of transportation were scarce and we received instead 'comforts' from Shanghai. To those who brought these 'comforts' we say: Organize the masses to support us instead.' "

How earnestly the soldiers desire the support of the people in the fighting! They have no laborers to transport their supplies, they are unable to purbetween the armies and the A certain general has given a people is essential to the success vivid description of this situa- of guerrilla warfare. How heavily tion: "At the front there are no the Chinese armies suffer in ca-The war has tested the extent masses, but only traitors ... We sualties by fighting under the to which the Kuomintang still do not fear the enemy's bombs cross-fire of bombs and artillery retains influence among the and artillery We fear most in a territory where they repeople. Despite the loud clamor of all the activities of the Chin- ceive little or no support from

Tribute to Soldiers

The fighting power of the we feel most distressed over the soldiers is remarkable both on What has the war imposed on fact that there are no organized the Northern and Southern the people? Apart from the vast masses. After the arrival of our fronts. The soldiers of the 28th with the number of victims con- support us fice. Those who re- sitions and were finally moved stantly mounting and a growing main are the traitors. As we did out of Peiping only by a stranumber of people thrown out of not know the roads well, we had tagem. The police and Pacantui taxes and requisitions in kind ours to guide us. Sometimes, be- in Tientsin stormed the Japanfrom the peasants, forced labor cause of this, we entered enemy ese airdrome and barracks. They and conscription. The conscriptions territory by mistake at a great suffered heavy casualties because tion, the commandeering of labor cost in lives. The activities of the the 38th Army, by order of the power, carts and horses, food traitors were manifold. They commander, was removed from and folder are all repugnant to not only disrupted our commu- Tientsin and did not join in the the peasants. For how can their nications, gave signals, etc., but fight. The soldiers in Nankow families be maintained if their they also reported our move- fought against tanks with hand man-power is levied, if their ments to the enemy and helped grenades and revolvers and sucscant means of livelihood are the enemy to requisition labor- ceeded in shooting down the (Continued on page 4)

candidacy. The chief has selso wives and children be arrested for default of payment? The elections and that no sort the elections are the elections and that no sort the elections are the elections and that no sort the elections are the elections and that no sort the elections are the elections and that no sort the elections are the elections CRACKS IN FRANCE

against whom he rants, but at extremist right, Blum had to de- coming war. mur and withdraw for the time

C. P. For Sacred Union

The Stalinists, protesting their continued undying fealty to the People's Front of strike- ration of the four powers. This breakers and wage-cutters, have now come forward with a demand the fact that France is not so for entry into a new People's sure an ally of Moscow as Stalin-Front or Sacred Union govern- Litvinov so fondly believed. ment. They realize that unless they take this step, the workers might again take the path of open struggle and carry it be- effort to isolate the Communists. bourgeoisie has so far been cold, wield the weapon of mass presworkers' unions if necessary.

The whole question of France's unable to turn it off.

So long as the French govern- tal. the Stalinists chose to remain from the hands of a capitalist It is these latter aims that outside the government, support class unable any longer to rule reformists, have the most correct minded sections of the American dictate the use of Lewis as ing its fundamental program for by ordinary parliamentary means

instability of the regime, plus shaken confidence in the Red invoked the threat of war as its Army, has caused France to deal justification. He proposed, with more readily with Great Britain's member of the Central Commit- again and that, in their heart demand one day for these heca- main "protest" in another form the approval of the Skalinists, efforts to strike a new fourto include Reynaud, ultra-con- power balance of Germany, Italy, servative ex-Finance minister. France, and Britain with a view When Reynaud demanded that to isolating the Soviet Union and the new coalition extend to the making it the chief target of the

The Van Zeeland plan, which is actually sponsored by Great Britain, provides for opening Anglo-French credits to Germany and Italy and laying the economic basis for political collabohowever, is only symptomatic of

Future Clashes

This lies, in part, behind the ed on the pressure, they will be

armed bands in the pay of capi-

In the coming period, the mogrowth of the P.O.I., the Workers-Internationalist Party, will in measure far out of proportion

Flirtation With Hitler

a number of "Callistas" in its ranks. The army is a hot-bed of ment of Cardenas has been in whose lands were taken and to figure prominently in confethat edge is directed an always rences to como. the Soviet Union and the obvious the future trend of events.